AD-766 104

U.S. MIDDLE EAST OIL: THE PETROLEUM RESERVES CORPORATION

James R. Ralph, Jr.

Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania

23 February 1972

DISTRIBUTED BY:

NIS

National Technical Information Service U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield Va. 22151 The views expressed to this paper are those of the surface and so not collecting rather the views of the Defense or say of its mesocies, this allocations may not be released for open publication and it has been cleared by the Department of Defense, damp

ates in the same of the same

23 FEBRUARY 1972



(ADVANCED DEGREE PROCESSE)

US MIDDLE EAST OIL:
THE PETROLEUM RESERVES CORPORATION

BY

LIEUTENANT GOLONEL JAMES R. RALPH, JR. ADJUTANT GENERAL CORPS



AR BANK MAN COTTENE' CONTROL BUNDACKS' LEUNERTANIN

LISRARY

A- 3 417

ARMY WAR COLUMNS

tieps 1

USAWC RESEARCH PAPER

US MIDDLE EAST OIL:
THE PETROLEUM RESERVES CORPORATION,

A MONOGRAPH

уď

Lieutenant Columel James R. Ralph, Jr. Adjutant General Corps

US Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 23 February 1972

Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.

AUTHOR: James R. Ralph Jr., LTC, AGC

FORMAT: Monograph

DATE: 23 February 1972 PAGES: 42 CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

TITLE: US Middle East Oil: The Petroleum Reserves Corporation.

There is only one little known incident recorded in which the US Government attempted to nationalize private American oil interests. During WW 1I the USG formed a corporation specifically for the purpose of acquiring proven foreign petroleum reserves. Under a veil of secrecy the Petroleum Reserves Corporation (PRC) was formed by President Roosevelt in June 1943 to buy a controlling interest in the Arabian-American Oil Company. Once the matter became public the White House fell silent. The oil company refused to sell and apparently had a greater lobby in Congress than the Executive Department. The PRC project became a "dead duck". Using an extensive literature search of primary source documents, the author reconstructs this brief but important episode of wartime diplomatic history. The conclusions from the PRC incident showed the need for a clearly established national oil policy which determined resource needs and sources during war or peace. Later policies which came in the fifties saw the role of Government functioning to promote cons. ervation and encouraging development rather than entering into the oil business itself. These policies proved effective since there was adequate petroleum to meet the needs of the Korean and Vietnamese conflicts without nationalization.

PREFACE

This monograph was prepared initially as partial fulfillment of the Master of Arts Degree with specialization in History at the Graduate School, Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg Pennsylvania. The subject, scope and outline were approved in advance by Professor John Offner of the History Department.

The helpful assistance of both Ambassador Herman F. Eilts and Doctor John Offner as well as the personnel of the USAWC Library are appreciated and acknowledged.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
ABSTR	ACT	ii
PREFA	CE	. בבב י
1.	GENERAL SETTING	, 4
2.	MONEY FOR SAUDI ARABIAN KING	. 2
2	U.S. LEND-LEASE	Į,
٠٠	U.D. LIEKD-LEROE	, 7
4.	PRELUDE TO GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP	. 6
5	PETROLEUM RESERVES CORPORATION (PRC)	. 15
J•	1 11 10 11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	, –,
6.	NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN AND END	. 20
7.	CONCLUSIONS	. 33
•		
	IOGRAPHY	. 35
	NDIXES MAP OF ARABIAN PENINSULA	hΩ
	PETROLEUM RESERVES CORPORATION CHARTER	
	LETTER OF INTENT	
v.	INSTITUTE OF AMERICA CONTRACTOR C	• 72

US MIDDLE EAST OIL: THE PETROLEUM RESERVES CORPORATION

Much has been written about oil in the Middle East. The histories written of the experiences of World War I clearly revealed the strategic importance of the Middle East in a world conflict, and the decisiveness of oil in the prosecution of the war. It has been recorded that there was a clash between the British and the Americans for the fruits of victory in the form of oil. During World War II the Middle East had a new role in the relations among the great powers. While it was imperative to hold the area for the allies, it was even more important not to let it fall in the hards of the enemy. Germany would not only have gained a strategic position, but above all, would have acquired a supply of oil for the prosecution of a globular war. The cooperation in prosecuting war objectives among the Americans, British, and Russians caused side effects against the oil companies that were exploring in Saudi Arabia. The American companies there were becoming increasingly disturbed by the growing influence of the British as a result of this cooperation.

In 1940 there was a decline in the activities of the California-Arabian Standard Oil Company and a complete stoppage of the Pilgrimage to Mecca which were the two major sources of income for the government of Saudi Arabia. To offset the losses Ibn Saud had turned to the American company and the British government. During that year the British government advanced Ibn Saud 100 thousand pounds and the California-Arabian Company advanced him 2.9 million dollars. This was over and above the

The second secon

¹See map Appendix A.

amount due for royalty and rentals and was in addition to \$1,700,000 that had been advanced in the previous year.²

The King's demand for further advances and increasing activities of the British, combined with general uncertainty of war, created a very difficult situation for the company. There were the questions of reasonable guarantee of recovering its money and the increasing influence of the British that could make the company's position untenable. The President of California-Arabian Standard Oil Company, Frederick Davis went to Saudi Arabia and made a deal with the government to advance it a loan during 1941 of three million dollars with a promise to increase this loan to six million dollars. The government's finance minister indicated that he was counting on the six million as a part of the budget for that year. In return the Saudi government agreed to extend the company's concession by two years, and to the cur ailment of the companies' activities in the concession, provided that the curtailment did not affect "the government revenue from the /reduced/exports" of crude oil.3

The corpany, however, was unwilling to advance the additional three million dollars which had been promised or even the original three million dollars authorized. It determined to obtain the entire six million dollars from the American government under lend-lease. In October 1941. President Roosevelt indicated that the American government could not advance any funds to Ibn Saud under lend-lease. He suggested to the British Ambassador

^{20.}S., Congress, Senate, Special Committee Investigating the National Defens: Program, Petroleum Arrangements with Saudi Arabia, Part 41, Hearings, 80th Cong., 1st sess., January 24, 29, 30, 1948 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 25,381.

³<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 25,052-057, 25,407-411.

that Britain provide the King with such funds as were necessary to meet lbn Saud's requirements. In a note to Jesse H. Jones, Administrator of the Federal Loan Agency, the President commented: "Jesse--would you tell the British I hope that they can take care of the King of Saudi Arabia. This is a little far field for us!"

So the California-Arabian Oil Company actually was successful in obtaining financial support for Ibn Saud through the British. It had not achieved its objectives of lessening British influence and increasing American power in the area through the use of the United States Covernment and its funds. To the special committee investigating the National Defense Program the company representative testified that through British financial advances to the King of American funds, the UK had increased its influence in Saudi Arabia at American expense. The company became alarmed at the plans which the British were developing to control the Saudi Arabian monetary system. President Davis said, "We felt all through here that the money that the Saudi Arabian government was receiving from the British was in effect money that we had passed over to the British; and we, as a company, felt that the United States should be getting the credit for it rather than the British."5 The leaders of both the Arabian American Company and the Texas Company 6 feared that the British might gain control over the American concessions. Eventually, with Britain's prestige and influence increasing, Saudi Arabia might be drawn into the sterling area and that

⁴Benjamin Shwadran, <u>The Middle East, Oil and the Great Powers</u> (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1955), p. 306.

⁵U.S. Senate, <u>Hearings Saudi Arabia</u>, p. 25,091.

⁶California-Arabian Standard Oil Company was a Delaware Corporation with stock ownership split 50/50 between Standard Oil of California and the Texas Corporation.

would hinder maintenance of the American character of the enterprise.

Moreover, since the money was coming from the British and not the companyas promised, the King maintained that the company had not lived up to its
agreement of January 1941.7

Early in 1943 the company determined again to try to persuade the United States Government to grant Ibn Saud direct lend-lease aid. It was at this time that Harold L. Ickes, the Secretary of Interior, became the Petroleum Administrator for War. Harry D. Collier, the President of Standard Oil Company of California, and W. S. S. Rogers, the Chairman of the Texas Oil Company, parent companies of the California-Arabian Oil Company told Ickes that Saudi Arabia had probably one of the largest and richest oil pools in the world. They were afraid, however, that the British were trying to edge in on the concession, having advanced Ibn Saud some 20 million dollars. They had tried to obtain direct United States assistance but the State Department had blocked their efforts, and they feared that the American oil concession would be cancelled and given over to the British interest. Ickes apparently was impressed with the urgent need for fast action to save the situation. Ickes requested the two representatives to supply him immediately with the pertinent facts so that he could present them to the President.⁸ Rogers complied by sending Ickes a letter in February of 1943 outlining the situation in Saudi Arabia and urging that the country be given lend-lease. To counteract British influence, the company had made monetary advances to the King in 1941 and 1942; but

⁷U.S. Senate, <u>Hearings Saudi Arabia</u>, cables between Davis and Lenahan and other company representatives, pp. 25,417-435.

⁸<u>Ibid</u>., p. 25,232.

in 1943, the situation had become so difficult that it was no longer possible for the company to meet the requirements. American military men were just as disturbed by British activity as was the company since they suspected that the British were trying to take the concession away from the Americans. A Pritish expedition, obstensively to combat locus, arrived in Saudi Arabia with strong military detachments, and there was a suspicion that many geologists were in the group. What most seriously disturbed the company was a British attempt at the end of 1942 to open a bank in Jedda to issue paper money. This would have put Saudi Arabia in the sterling area and would have made it impossible for the company to carry on its activities as an American concern. The time for action had therefore arrived.

Secretary of the Interior Ickes, who had the immediate responsibility for oil supplies, was impressed by the arguments of the comp ny representatives as to the importance of Saudi Arabian oil and the national welfare of the United States. He accepted the company's belief that the British were attempting to takeover the American concession in Saudi Arabia, especially as the British government was itself an owner of oil rights. He was therefore instrumental in helping the California and Texas oil companies to obtain lend-lease for Ibn Saud. 10

After seeing Ickes the two company presidents then saw the secretaries of the Navy, War, and State and other officials and impressed upon them the ._ed to grant lend-lease aid to Saudi Arabia. On the 16th of February 1943, Ickes met with the Fresident. After a week of

⁹Ibid., pp. 24,829-830.

^{10 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 24,831.

¹¹U.S., Congressional Record, <u>Proceedings and Debates</u>, 80th Congress, 1st sess., Vol. 94, Part 4 (April 28, 1948), p. 4948.

activity on the part of the company representatives and the secretary, President Roosevelt wrote a letter to Mr. Stettinus on February 18, 1943 declaring that, "... in order to enable you to arrange for lend-lease aid to the government of Saudi Arabia, I hereby find that the defense of Saudi Arabia is vital to the defense of the United States."

This indeed was an achievement. It relieved the company of the burden of financing the King, enhanced the American company's prestige, committed the United States to the protection of the American concession, and removed the possibility of sizeable British penetration.

By mid-1943, many oil industry leaders and government officials feared an imminent oil shortage. In this pressing oil crisis, Ickes saw an opportunity to establish direct federal control over petroleum resources. He advocated American exploitation of Saudi oil reserves, not by private companies however, but by the federal government itself. Many oil men believed that under the cover of wartime necessity Ickes was seeking to nationalize oil production which he had failed to do during the New Deal. In 1935 and 1940 Ickes had formulated specific proposals toward that end and he apparently had not changed his mind on this matter. 13

On 8 June, Admiral William Leahy, the Chief of Staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, sent a memorandum to President Roosevelt on oil reserves. Leahy commented that there was an insufficient supply of crude oil from local production to meet the requirements of the armed services and civilian needs. It was in the interest of national security that

¹²U.S. Senato, Hearings Saudi Arabia, p. 24,861.

¹³Cerald Nash, <u>United States Oil Policy</u>, 1890-1964 (Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburg Press, 1968), p. 172.

steps be taken immediately to assure a continued control of sufficient cil reserves to meet our country's needs. He proposed that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation be directed to organize a corporation specifically for the purpose concequiring proven foreign petroleum reserves. This would include the immediate acquisition of a controlling interest by the US government in Saudi Arabian oil concessions, with the provision that the corporation may acquire interest in other properties when so directed.

Two days later the President directed Admiral Leahy to take up the matter personally with the Secretary of State concerning the arrangements to obtain for the United States Government an interest in the Saudi Arabian oil fields. FDR suggested that the American Minister in Saudi Arabia, assisted by a State Department expert who had no connection with the American commercial oil interest, should make an immediate effort to obtain oil concessions from Saudi Arabia for the United States Government. A Naval oil fuel reserve, similar to those existing in the United States, could be established. The United States Government would pay the usual royalties for the il when it was used. 15

Ickes saw his opportunity when widespread fears of an imminent oil shortage were especially rife among military and diplomatic circles in the nation's capital. On 10 June 1943, ickes wrote to President Roosevelt urging him to take immediate action in acquiring foreign oil reserves. He warned of an impending oil shortage for the armed forces in 1944, which could also affect critical industries at home. He urged Roosevelt to

¹⁴U.S. Department of State, <u>Foreign Relations of the US, Diplomatic Papers, 1943, The Near East and Africa, Vol. IV (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964)</u>, p. 921.

^{15&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 922.

create a Petroleum Reserves Corporation (PRC) under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RPC) which would acquire and develop new foreign oil reserves. He etc. hasized that in view of the past, and realistic appraisal of the problem "compels the conclusion that American participation must be of a sovereign character compatible with the strengths of the competitive forces encountered in any such undertaking. "16 After outlining the functions and operations of the proposed corporation, he reasoned:

It is suggested that the first order of business of the corporation should be the acquisition of a participating and managerial interest in the crude oil concessions now held in Saudi Arabia by an American company. This potential crude oil reserves underlying this concession have been estimated at approximately 20 billion barrels . . /it/ is as large as the total current known crude oil reserves of the entire United States.

There acquisition will serve to meet an immediate detand by the Army and Navy for a large volume of petroleum products in or near Arabia and will also serve to counteract certain known activities of a foreign power /Pritish/ which are presently jeopardizing American interest in Arabian oil reserves.

FDR had turned the matter over to Justice Byrnes, the Director for War Mobilization. Byrnes held a meeting in east offices of the White House on June 12, 1943 at which Secretaries Stimpson, Knox, Ickes, State Economic Advisor Feis, and General Wright (JCS) were present. Great concern was expressed over the rapidly depleting domestic reserves of petroleum and recognition was given to the urgent necessity of the acquisition of foreign petroleum reserves by this government at the earliest practicable time. Specifically, all concurred that it was necessary by July 1, 1943, to form a corporation for the general purpose of acquiring foreign oil reserves,

¹⁶u.S. Scnate, <u>Hearings Saudi Arabia</u>, pp. 25,237-238.

^{17&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

and to immediately initiate steps for the acquisition of an interest in the highly important Saudi Arabian fields. Questions about the directorate and the control of the proposed corporation as well as the type of interest and ownership to be acquired in the Saudi Arabian reserves and the method of pay for such acquisitions, ¹⁸ were left for further study by the interested departments and later recommendation to Justice Byrnes.

On June 14, the Socretary of State Cordell Hull, sent a memorandum to President Roosevelt outlining the entire problem from a diplomatic point of view. He was in complete agreement with regard to the recommendation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff concerning increased production and new refinery construction and offered all assistance with the Saudi Arabian government. He put forth three proposals which were intended to assure that oil of Saudi Arabia serve as a reserve for the United States quite apart from the question of immediately increasing production and refinery capacity. The first proposal was a recommendation, which had been suggested in March of 1943, that the Petroleum Reserves Corporation (when created) enter into a contract with the California-Arabian Standard Oil Company; whereunder, the company would set aside so many billions of barrels of oil in the ground as reserve for the United States Government to be delivered as desi ad. This arrangement would not require any significant renegotiation with Ibn Saud. The second recommendation addressed the recommendation of Secretary Ickes to the President; that this government purchase, from the two parent companies, a controlling stock interest in the California-Arabian Standard Oil Company. Hull indicated there would appear to be no expressed provision in the agreements between the company and Ibn Saud

¹⁸U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations, Vol. IV (1943), p. 925.

forbidding such a transaction. But he called attention to a provision which restricted assignment of rights to any other corporations. He concluded that, in any case it would be necessary to notify Ibn Saud of our intention. He added that it wasn't known what attitude the King might take toward the entrance of the American government into the business of developing oil reserves located within his domain. Finally, he addressed the suggestion contained in the memorandum presented by Admiral Leahy, to the Secretary of State, regarding a special mission to negotiate a new concession for oil within Saudi Arabia with 1bn Saud. Hull indicated that the most promising oil bearing land was already included within the concessions held by the California-Arabian Oit Company. They also had preferential rights to other large struches of territory further away from the Persian Gulf Coast. He believed it was essential to point out that any negotiations, which disturbed the present concession, might have adverse results and cause new demands either upon the company or upon the United States Government to reduce the present concessions or admit representatives of other countries. Secretary Hull concluded his memorandum to President Roosevelt:

In this present critical stage of our international relations, and bearing in mind the extreme importance of petroleum questions in the whole of our foreign relations, the Secretary of State is unwilling to get into controversy with other branches of government as to the course to pursue in regards to the Saudi Arabia situation. He submits the matter for the judgment of the President in the light of the preceding summary. It is his view that the simplist and most advisable way to proceed in Saudi Arabia is along the lines of (1) immediate arrangements with the American companies to develop their production and their refinery; (2) agreements setting aside such reserves as the Army and the Navy find necessary for their requirements.

¹⁹ <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 924.

Two weeks later, Secretarics Hull, Stimpson, Forrestal, and Ickes concurred in the recommendations of their representatives who had held earlier discussions with Justice Byrnes to consider the situation presented by the shortage of domestic petroleum reserves, the consequent inherent need to assure adequate foreign reserves, and the best means of proceeding to that end. They concurred fully in the report and forwarded it to the President. One of their main recommendations was to put into effect the creation of the Petroleum Reserves Corporation on before June 30.20

It is interesting to note that contained in the recommendations to the President was a caveat in behalf of American foreign policy insured by the State Department.

In order that the activities of the corporation in acquiring foreign oil reserves shall be in accord with the American foreign policy, the following principles shall be observed in the conduct of corporation affairs: (a) the corporation shall not embark on any major projects or undertakings without receiving prior approval of the Secretary of State; (b) all major negotiations with foreign government shall be conducted through the appropriate missions of the State Department or else under its supervision. 21

The Cabinet recommendation that went forward to FDR allowed for our government to purchase 100 percent of the stock of the carporations now owning the concessions in Saudi Arabia. The Petroleum Reserves Corporation also could enter into an operating and management contract covering all or part of the Saudi Arabian oil fields. The two American corporations which owned the concessions could operate and manage the oil fields should the PRC award such a contract. Included in this would be the right to the Petroleum Reserves Corporation to exercise control over the rate of

²⁰ The powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to organize corporations expired midnight 30 June 1943.

²¹U.S. Department of State, <u>Foreign Relations</u>, Vol. IV (1943), p. 926.

production, the development of oil structures, and the sale or other disposition of all the oil produced from such fields.²²

Matters concerning construction of an oil refinery for Saudi Arabia were considered to be military policy and as such should be determined by the Army and Navy Petroleum Board. The report suggested that refinery construction go forward without delay, and the ultimate financing and ownership would be reserved for future determination.

An interesting vignette on how the Cabinet members proposed to deal with Congress in this matter was contained in another recommendation made to the President. It suggested that after a definite determination had been made as to the program to be pursued, Byrnes, on a confidential base: should inform certain members of Congress of the program and endeavor to obtain their informal approval in advance of the initiation of negotiations with the two American companies which then owned the concessions. 23

To put the plan in motion, negotiations would first start with the President of the Standard Oil Company of California and the President of the Texas Oil Corporation in an effort to arrive at a tentative agreement along the lines that had been set forth in the Departments' recommendations. The representatives of the United States Government would then dispatch an official to Saudi Arabia to confer with James S. Moose, Jr., the United States Minister Resident and Mr. Alexander Kirk, the United States Minister Resident in Egypt. 24 The would be briefed on the arrangements proposed

²² Ibid., p. 927.

²³ Ibid,

 $^{^{24}\}mbox{Kirk}$ has been concurrently serving as Minister to Saudi Arabia stationed in Egypt.

and could express their views prior to discussions with Ibn Saud, if they were indeed required. 25

There were two methods proposed by the Cubinet to acquire oil. While the secretaries concurred in recommending that interest be acquired in the Saudi Arabian fields by ownership of stock, they presented an alternative method of contracting the services. The Secretary of State felt 2 contract would be simple, straight forward, more readily defendable, and understandable method. The PRC and the company contract vould not alter or affect existing concessions and would provide for an advance of money and payments to include royalties to Ibn Saud in exchange for a maintenance of a minimum oil reserve. This coincided with the original request free the oil companies. The main advantage of a contract from the international relations point of view was that it would not be so apt to create concern or serve as an incentive to the nationalization of the oil reserves. It was also recognized that, from the domestic standpoint, there would be less force to the contention that the government was entering into the oil business. One of the principle disadvantages was that there would be a danger in such an arrangement no matter how scrupulously and fully it sought to protect the interest of the government. It could be misconstrued and unfairly criticized for the use of resources, prestige, and perhaps even the armed forces of our government to provide profit for private capital. There would also be the possibility that it would be impossible to determine with any accuracy the amount of oil in the ground. Therefore, if

²⁵U.S. Department of State, Toreign Relations, Vol. IV (1943), p. 928.

the reserves were exhausted, the government would be left little or no oil and the company with each profits. 26

There was no doobt Ickes had sold the PRC to the President. In approving the Petroleum Reserves Corporation, President Roosevelt directed that the stock acquisition method be used. He took this act after having been told the fact that it could have possible undesirable international repercussions. Specifically, it might cause concern on the part of the United Kingdom and the USSR and may strengthen the tendency of certain Latin American countries to proceed further along the road of ol nationalization. One of the points brought out in the study that did ring true and brought about the eventual defeat of the Petroleum Reserves Corporation was "that it may be contended that this method will put the government in the oil business on a huge scale and by reason thereof a bitter domestic attack may result." 27

The last suggested disadvantage was that the desired ends might be obtained, at least in large part, without embarking on such unchartered course. Written, no doubt, and agreed to by those taking the conservative approach and acquiesced in by those who were the proponents of the system adopted.

Dr. Feis reported that the discussion at the White House was jovial, brief, and far from thorough.²⁹ A boyish note of enjoyment was in the

^{26&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 929.

^{27&}lt;sub>Jhid</sub>.

^{28&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>

²⁹ Herbert Feis, <u>Seen From E.A.: Three International Episodes</u> (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1947), p. 122.

President's talk and nod as usual when it had to do with the land of the Middle Fast. The boyant certainty of the Secretary of the Navy and the Petroleum Administrator for War prevailed. No shorter step would do in this uncertain world and this longer step could easily be carried off. The Secretary of State assented with an air of faint but cheerful readiness. His burdened spirit, groping among the formulas that might induce man to live in peace, could not bring itself to grapple with the different views of his assertive colleagues concerned with oil. The tangle of purposes made this subject a rough traverse for everyone. No one was to emerge from it unserved. 30

On the 30, 1943, with the President's authorization, the Reconstruction Finance Exporation organized the Petroleum Reserves Corporation.

It was given authority,

... to buy or other to acquire proven reserves of petroleum from sources patside the mitted States, including the purchase or acquisition of stock contrations owning such reserves or interest therein. To store, transport, produce, process, manufacture, sell, market, and others. Aispose of such crude petroleum and the product derived there.

According to the approved recommendation, the Bore Directors of the newly constituted Petroleum Reserves Corporation would constitute of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of Navy, and the Secretary of Interior.

The corporations charter /see Appendix \overline{B} / and its plans were kept a closely granded secret, but this did not prevent a welter of rumors as to PRC's ourposes from developing in the domestic oil industry. Though oil men did not know just what was

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹U.S. Federal Register, VIII (July 2, 1943), p. 9044; see also, New York Times, July 2, 1943; see also "Middle East Oil Sale," Oil and Gas Journal, VI (August 26, 1943), p. 21.

President's talk and nod as usual when it had to do with the land of the Middle Past. The boyant certainty of the Secretary of the Navy and the Petroleum Administrator for War prevailed. No shorter step would do in this uncertain world and this longer step could easily be carried off. The Secretary of State assented with an air of faint but cheerful readiness. His burdened spirit, groping among the formulas that might induce man to live in peace, could not bring itself to grapple with the different views of his assertive colleagues concerned with oil. The tangle of purposes made this subject a rough traverse for everyone. No one was to emerge from it unsected.

On the 30, 1943, with the President's authorization, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation organized the Petroleum Reserves Corporation.

It was given authority,

... to buy or other or acquire proven reserves of petroleum from sources outside the mixed States, including the purchase or acquisition of stock committees and reserves or interest therein. To store, transport, produce, process, manufacture, sell, market, and other dispose of such crude petroleum and the product derived there

According to the approved recommendation, the Borral Directors of the newly constituted Petroleum Reserves Corporation would exact of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of Navy, and the Secretary of Interior.

The corporations charter /see Appendix \overline{B} / and its plans were kept a closely granded secret, but this did not prevent a welter of rumors as to PRC's emposes from developing in the domestic oil industry. Though oil men did not know just what was

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹U.S. Federal Register, VIII (July 2, 1943), p. 9044; see also, New York Times, July 2, 1943; see also "Middle East Oil Sale," Oil and Gas Journal, VI (August 26, 1943), p. 21.

happening, they were pretty certain that it was something they wouldn't like--probably something to do with putting the government into the oil business.³²

On July 14, 1943, President Roosevelt called a Cabinet conference to plan US oil strategy on a globular scale. 33 The Cabinet including Dr. Feis, were ushered into the oval office at the White House and officially advised by the President of their responsibilities. In addition he indicated that Secretary Ickes was designated as President of the Petroleum Reserves Corporation 34

The Juty of Safeguarding the American oil position in foreign lands was defused among several branches of the government which me' on terms of mutual watchfulness. The job seem to call for a specialized organization with more power to act than any existing one. It might maintain a more intensive watch over the foreign petroleum situation, keep informed of the performance of American companies abroad, and, if need be harmonize and try to direct them by suggestion. It was viewed by its authors as supplementary to, and perhaps an instrument of, the diplomatic support of private American oil enterprise in foreign lands. To correct this situation, the Petroleum Reserves Corporations was given broad responsibilities since it was impossible to foresee the exact range of its operation. 35

All the departments of government which had an interest in foreign oil matters were given a place in the new agency. According to Dr. Feis it was not easy to fit these departments together into a new pattern of

³²Petroleum Administration for War, A History of the Petroleum Administration for War 1941-1945 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 276.

³³Cordell Hull, <u>The Memoirs of Cordell Hull</u>, II (New York: MacMillan Co., 1948), pp. 1511-12; see also <u>New York Times</u>, July 11, 15, 29, 1943.

³⁴ Harold L. Ickes, "Oil and Peace," Collier's (December 2, 1944), p. 55.

³⁵ See Appendix B for the full text of this broad charter.

authority. It was not achieved without brusing so e nuckles and smothered reapproches. The most troublesone problem was whether to include the Federal Loan Administrator. He had long been the mast of all government establishments that dealt with matters such as these but the Petroleum Administrator for War doubted his grasp of the national need and his willingness to risk money on some of the projects that were in Takes' mind. The Petroleum Reserves Corporation might be called upon to take swift, novel, and verturesome action and it seemed best not to have to struggle with too conservative, too immobile weight. Thus, the Federal Loan Administrator was shunted out of the program. 36

The Petroleum Administrato: for War assumed the presidency of the new organization with no more comment than a much decorated, grizzled vereran receiving another medal or award; with only a rough, gruff clearing of the throat, in fact. He was assuming a new command, not detiring to a routine job.

³⁶ Feis, Seen From E.A., p. 125.

^{37&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 126,

In the forthcoming negotiations, Dr. Feis would work very closely with Secretary Ickes. He admired Mr. Ickes assertive figure and supported most of his judgments. He did not subscribe to Ickes impulsive and sometimes unfair methods of enforcing them. "But the favorite technique of negotiation of the self styled 'curmudgeon' seemed that of the blow followed by the kiss; this was not an ideal method for handling foreign affairs." 38

Having launched the PRC, the Department of State and the members of the PRC prepared to negotiate. The minister resident in Saudi Arabia was asked to provide an up to the minute report on the activities of the California-Arabian Oil Company. The Secretary wanted a detailed account of the current drilling and exploration activities, production, actual and potential, transportation arrangements and disposition of present production, to include distribution activities within Saudi Arabia. He also requested any new developments in relationship with the Saudi Arabian government, caucioning that the entire inquiry must be kept in utmost secrecy. 39

On 23 July, Commodore Carter, the Navy Representative on the ArmyNavy Petroleum Board, advised Dr. Feis that the board had concluded that
the one refinery project which should be carried out by the government for
military reasons was the erection of a refinery in Saudi Arabia. The plans
contemplated production of 20 thousand barrels a day of aviation gasoline
with a total potential of about 100 thousand barrels a day. Its estimated
cost would be about 100 million dollars. The decision to construct a
refinery in Saudi Arabia was based on anticipation of military supply

^{38&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

 $^{^{39}\}text{U.S.}$ Department of State, Foreign Relations, Vol. IV (1243), p. 933.

needs in the southwest Pacific. This was strengthened by the conclusion that it would be advisable in the long run to draw on Persian Gulf supplies for the quanities needed rather than on our own domestic supplies.⁴⁰

Commodore Carter pointed out that in previous discussions with Dr. Feis regarding the plan of having the government acquire stock ownership in the California Arabian Company, it had been the JCS view that any discussion which might be required with the company for refinery construction should be carried on independently in order not to risk delay. He observed that if an undertaking of this size was began, it would require government financing and be certain to influence the company's attitude in the prospective discussions with this government about stock purchase. Dr. Feis agreed and brought the matter to the attention of Secretary Ickes who by that time had been designated by the President as the senior negotiator on Saudi Arabian oil matters. 41

During this meeting with Ickes, Feis would hear from Secretary Ickes that hc, Ickes was the President of the Petroleum Reserves Corporacion and would act as such! Assured of new by-laws Ickes anticipated that the PRC would be in a position to carry out the Saudi Arabian refinery project recommended by the Army-Navy Petroleum Board. Ickes felt that the need for refinery construction strengthened the government position. The investment was so large the private companies could not finance it without immense government aid. Therefore, Ickes proposed that both the purchase of stock and the construction of a refinery be discussed at the same time with the presidents of the Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company. 42

⁴⁰ Ibid.

^{41&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 934.

⁴² Ibid., p. 937.

Meanwhile, before negotiations started, word was leaking out through diplomatic channels. Minister Kirk in Egypt had heard through Colonel Hoskins, Economic Counselor in the Middle East, that a project was being considered whereby the oil concessions in Saudi Arabia would be taken over by the American government. In a rather lengthly diatribe to the Secretary of State, Kirk described how successful the company had been in its relations and explorations in the country. He closed with a warning that government operation of the oil concessions would run counter to future plans involving private American enterprise. He foresaw scrious complications in the transfer of the present oil concessions to direct United States Government control both in the relations with Saudi Arabia and with other governments, whose suspicions might be aroused. Finally he advised that no step be taken to alter the present status of the oil company and its identity in Saudi Arabia. 43

The response from the Secretary of State to Kirk was immediate.

In view of the extreme delicacy of questions involved and the necessity of absolute secrecy in regard thereto, please request Colonel Hoskins to refrain entirely from any further discussions of the matter referred to in your /telegram/.44

It was evident that at least the State Department was trying to keep the lid on the PRC as negotiations were about to begin.

Secretary Ickes began immediate negotiations with Collier and Rogers, the top officers of the California and Texas oil companies, for the purchase of the entire Saudi Arabian concessions by the United States Government.

The participants came together in the cool grey offices of the Interior Building in irregular sessions. They drew apart, sometimes for days or

^{43&}lt;sub>Tbid</sub>,

^{44&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 938.

weeks, and the meetings and separations alike in the mind of Dr. Feis were tinged with uncertainty. The government representatives hadn't fully prepared themselves and had to stop frequently to review aims, to compose proposals, and to find answers to objections to the consequences of the stock purchase plan.45

The company representatives expressed shock and outrage at the proposals. They feared that their attempts to involve the United States Government in their Saudi Arabian concessions might boomerang and deprive them of the huge wealth-producing resources which they had acquired in the desert of Arabia. 46

Finding them reluctant to part with 100 percent of their ownership, Ickes went down, first to 70 percent, and then to 51 percent. Finally, the company representatives indicated that they might be willing to give up 33 1/3 percent of their holdings. 47

The fear of loss to the British, which had led the oil executives to Washington, was not reflected in the price that they placed on their property after the negotiations began. Dr. Feis received the impression that they were afraid of being trapped into a bargain. At every meeting, "the lawyers sat next to their talkers like sentinels."

Secretary Ickes domineered the discussion and, as the days went on, the State Department assistance through the economic advisor faded with each

⁴⁵Fcis, Seen From E. A., p. 129.

^{46&}lt;sub>1bid</sub>.

⁴⁷Shwadran, The Middle East, p. 315.

⁴⁸ leis, Seen From E. A., p. 130.

successive meeting. There was anxiety within the State Department particularly that the British government would strongly object to the transaction. Mr. Jokes, however, disregarded this idea he did not believe the UK was in such a position.

As the discussions continued Ickes even found himself suggesting compromises in regard to the money value of the property; his attempt at bargaining only made him suspect to everyone. Dr. Feis summarized this effort at negotiating: "It was a weak effort to match the hopes of the company with the pessimistic version of existing realities favored by the government participants."

Negotiations were carried on from August to October 1943. Then, according to Ickes, the attitudes of the companies changed. He attributed this to the military fortunes of the allies. When it looked as if Rommel might break through in North Africa and overrun the Middle East, the companies were easer to have the government in their Middle East concessions. However, after Rommel was chased out of North Africa, and the concessions were secure, they were no longer disposed to permit the government to purchase even a small part of their Saudi Arabian holdings. The negotiation broke off. 50

Rogers reported that the two sides had actually not been far apart in the negotiations. He personally felt that one morning when he was talking to Secretary Ickes that they were "about of the meeting of the minds." 51

^{49&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

⁵⁰g.S. Senate, Hearings Saudi Arabia, pp. 25,240-241.

^{51&}lt;sub>1b1d</sub>., p. 24,868.

However, that afternoon, without any previous warning, Ickes said that the deal was off. Rogers remarked, "I have done a lot of trading in my life, but I have never had anything like that happen before." Ickes recollected that the negotiations had reached a point were he thought:

They were doing two things: They were reaching into certain members of the Senate and the House to oppose any deal of any sort, and at the same time they were just pollyforing us and stringing us along, and I thought that the time had come when I wanted to call Mr. Rogers' bluff, and I did call it. . . . I think he /Rogers/ was somewhat ingenuous when he said that he came fully prepared to accept that, or any other proposition. I do not think they were ready to accept any proposition. 53

A more realistic summary of the reasons for the failure of these negotiations is set forth in <u>Petroleum and American Loreign policy</u> by Dr. Feis.

The problem of setting a price for this stock, acceptable both to the stockholders and to the government, was very difficult. Second, the companies directly concerned, as well as others engaged in the international petroleum trade, feared that the acquisition of control by the American government would bring it into the oil business everywhere in the world. Third, there was a fear that any such step would prejudice the chances of all the oil companies to secure concessions in foreign lands. These considerations prevailed even though the proposal contemplated that the actual business management of the properties should be left in the hands of the private interest. 54

While these negotiations were in progress, Secretary Ickes issued a letter of intent on 4 September, backing up a verbal agreement with the oil company executives arrived at on August 26, to accomplish with the greatest possible speed the construction of a very large refinery in

^{52&}lt;sub>Tbid</sub>.

^{53&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., pp. 25,241-242.

⁵⁴ Herbert Feis, <u>Petroleum and American Foreign Policy</u>, Commodity Policy Studies, No. 3 (California: Food Research Institute Stanford University, 1944), p. 39.

Saudi Arabia. According to the confidential letter of intent (see Appendix C) the refinery was to be designed for initial through-put of 100,000 barrels per day of Saudi Arabian crude oil to manufactured products. Twenty-five percent of the output would be motor gasoline, about 24 percent special fuel, 20 percent aviation gasoline and with the remainder in diesel oil. The letter of intent merely authorized the company to undertake certain expenditures; the method of finance and the relationship between the United States Government and the company were to be determined by future negotiations. 55

In view of the importance and the consequences of the project, the question of notification to the Saudi Arabian and British governments presented itself. On the basis of discussions that had been held with the Board of Directors of the Petroleum Reserves Corporation, it was decided that the first notification would be made to Ibn Saud by the representative of the California-Arabian Standard Oil Company in light of its close and satisfactory relationships with Ibn Saud. This channel was chosen since the refinery would be constructed under its concession and it would carry out the construction. Almost immediately thereafter the Department would discuss the subject through its diplomatic representatives with Ibn Saud. Finally, notification would be made through the War Petroleum Board to the British. This method was selected to emphasize the military aspects of the project. It was to be made clear to the British that additional discussions could be held with the State Department. 56

⁵⁵U.S., Comptroller General, Report on Audit of Reconstruction Finance Corporation and Affiliated Corporations, Petroleum Reserves Corporation 1945, Vol. IX, 80th Cong., 2d sess., House Document 622, April 27, 1948 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 4-5.

^{5611.}S. Department of State, Foreign Relations, Vol. IV (1943), p. 938.

Secretary Hull then advised the Minister Resident in Saudi Arabia of the arrangements and authorized him to inform Ibn Saud, cautioning that discussion had not reached a final conclusion. Hull also advised the Ambassador in the United Kingdom that the Petroleum Reserves Corporation was sending a staff of three persons, a geologist and two engineers, to inspect and study the various oil fields in the Persian Gulf area. Their mission was to make a technical study of the oil fields, the production, distribution, and refining installations in the area. They were not authorized to deal in any way with questions of policy concerning government or company relationships. 57

At this time the secret negotiations were revealed to the public. The <u>Wall Street Journal</u> of Thursday, October 21, 1943, carried a front page story regarding the talks which had been in progress between the Petroleum Reserves Corporation and the Standard Oil Company of California. Exposed was the fact that the US Government was attempting to acquire that company's holdings in Saudi Arabia. These negotiations were supposed to have been conducted in the greatest secrecy but, according to the article, widespread rumors regarding them were current even before the article was published. 58

The State Department then received word from Saudi Arabia that the King had been advised of the proposed construction of the refinery and had expressed pleasure at the prospects of its development. He seemed to consider the United States Government's participation as perfectly natural

^{57 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 938-9.

⁵⁸ Wall Street Journal, October 21, 1943, p. 1.

and expressed belief that the project should be beneficial to both Saudi Arabia and the United States. 59

Just two weeks after the negotiations became public, and after King Ibn Sand had given his approval, Secretary lokes informed President F. A. Davis of the California-Arabian Standard Oil Company that effective immediately the Petroleum Reserves Corporation was canceling the authorization for the construction of the refinery in Saudi Arabia. 60 The reasons given were that the oil corporation had proposed a contract which had not been a reasonable basis for an agreement between the PRC Board of Directors and the private corporation. He went one step further to imply that the company did not intend to provide reasonable basis for agreement. 61

These three developments led Secretary Hull to berate lekes' handling of the affair. In a blistering letter of November 13, Hull advised lekes of the diplomatic facts of life. Concerned about the relations of this government with the independent governments in the Middle East and the long term effects of any adopted line of action upon the American petroleum position in the Middle East, Hull complained that the main decisions of the Petroleum Reserves Corporation had become public knowledge. He cautioned the PRC to bear in mind that its attitude toward the problems before it and shifts in these attitudes were bound to produce reactions from the foreign governments and the peoples directly or indirectly concerned. When the facts had become known to the public concerning the refinery construction

⁵⁹U.S. Department of State, <u>Foreign Relations</u>, Vol. IV (1943), p. 941.

⁶⁰See Appendix C for a copy of this letter.

⁶¹Dr. Feis gives the best explanation found for canceling the refinery construction in his summary regarding the failure of negotiations. See page 23.

in Saudi Arabia, it became necessary to inform the King since the future of Saudi Arabia of course was ultimately of his primary interest. Then that day there was an item in the press that negotiations over this refinery had broken down. This information coming on the heels of what had been previously announced, "cannot fail to create, in the Saudi Arabian government, a lack of confidence in the sustained interest and purposefulness of this government respecting Saudi Arabian oil, which that country is most anxious to have developed." He added that it would weaken in the eyes of King Ibn Saud the position of the American company that holds the concessions, since there was no assurance that its holding would be substantially developed in the near future.

This department believes that there should be full realization of the fact that the oil of Saudi Arabia constitutes one of the world's greatest prizes, and that it is extremely shortsighted to take any step which would tend to discredit the American interest therein, whether that interest be of public or private character. 63

Hull predicted that pressure would be brought to bear on King Ibn
Saud by another government which would attempt to use the recent events to
undermine his confidence in the American interest in his country's petroleum
resources. he department was convinced, he said, that the British, in
handling the Middle Eastern oil, have the long term view in mind as well
as the short, and that for the proper protection of American interests it
was necessary for us to do likewise. Recounting the current trends within
the Middle East as far as British American interest were concerned, Hull
felt that maximum consideration should be given to proposals which would

⁶²U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations, Vol. IV (1943) p. 942.

⁶³ Ibid.

be consistent with the direct war requirements and possible expansion of American facilities rather than giving any priority to expansion of British facilities in the area. Secretary Hull referred to projects such as the expansion of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, construction of a new pipeline to the Mediterranean from the Iraqi oil fields, and construction of a refinery in British India utilizing the production of Qatar or other British controlled oil. Hull ended his diatribe:

We believe that the strong criticism will develop if British petroleum facilities in the Middle East are further expanded for American purposes and with American materials, for to do so will retard the development of American enterprise, jeopardizing their holdings, and so tend to make this country dependent on British oil in the future. 64

Now the Secretary of State felt that it was appropriate to bring the British into the picture to ensure resolution of the complex problems involved. Many of the projects that were proposed by the Petroleum Reserves Corporation or the Joint Chiefs of Staff concerning development of oil involved both American and British interest. The minutes of the November meeting of the directors of the Petroleum Reserves Corporation recorded. that the negotiations to acquire participation through the stock purchase method was at an end much to the recret of the directors. However, these same minutes authorized the PRC President to continue negotiations with the Gulf Oil Corporation which held one half of the stock of the corporation owning the concessions in Kuwait. Because of this, the overall objective of any discussions with the British would be to develop Middle Eastern oil as though a result of cooperation between the two governments. The purpose

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 943.

of oil development would be to make supplies available for the long range percetime needs as well as for immediate security purposes. 65

Accordingly, Secretary Hull, invoking his authority over foreign affairs written into the PRC by-laws, advised Secretary Ickes that negotiations of the PRC with the California-Arabian Standard Oil Company and with the Gulf Oil Company for the purposes of arranging participation by the government in those companies or their foreign reserves should be held in abeyance, and similar negotiations should not be undertaken with any other countries at this time. 66 Takes was told in this manner to stop any oil negotiations with Americans until dull talked to the British.

This matter finally landed in the lap of the President who told both Secretaries Hull and Ickes to get their heads together and straighten out the problem of the Petroleum Reserves Corporation. Roosevelt felt that it was vital to go ahead rapidly in negotiating with the American companies in order to find out just where the United States stood before taking the matter up with the British. FDR felt that "time is important...because after the war the American position will be greatly weaker than it is today. Can't we agree on a policy and on a method of putting it into effect?" 67

There is no indication in the State Department files that there were further negotiations on the idea of obtaining an adquate stock interest in any of the companies owning concessions in the Persian Gulf area. 68 In a

^{65&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 949.

⁶⁶U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the US, Diplomatic Papers, 1944, The Near East and Africa, Vol. V (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 11.

^{67&}lt;u>Thid</u>., p. 16.

^{68&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 19.

memorandum of January 25, 1944, to President Roosevelt, the Director of War Mobilization, Byrnes opposed the proposed government purchase of equity in the oil companies and instead approved a proposed pipeline project in Saudi Arabia. 69

Actually the pipeline proposal was set aside and eventually the government and the petroleum industry turned their attention to a much larger issue of the Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement. The pipeline, described by Secretary Ickes before the Economics Club of New York City on 9 May 1944, as "only a single, not too important, item in what we may hope will be a comprehensive national oil policy, embracing both domestic and foreign operations" was, in effect, swallowed up in that greater undertaking. 70

The Petroleum Industry War Council condemned Ickes' PRC project.

Its National Oil Policy Committee, constituted by Mr. Ickes in ofder to obtain industry's point of view, submitted a proposed national oil policy which deplored the oil shortage scare. The oil men on this committee urged "that no definite action be taken by any arm of the government committing the people to long range future entanglements in foreign countries without approval of Congress."

^{69&}lt;u>Thid.</u>, for text of the memorandum see U.S. Congress, Senate, Special Committee, Investigating the National Defense Program: <u>Hearings</u> before the Senate Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program PT 41, 80th Cong., 1st sess., January 24, 29, 30, 1948 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 25,387.

⁷⁰ Harold L. Ickes, "Oil and Peace," <u>Collier's</u> V (December 2, 1944), p. 55.

⁷¹ Petroleum Administration for War, Text of Preliminary Report, A. National Oil Policy for the United States, February 28, 1944, <u>History of the Petroleum Administration for War</u>, 1941-1945 (1946), p. 395.

⁷² Ibid.

The committee report took issue with other drastic measures to forestall or meet an oil shortage. Stock piling of crude oil and its products in Saudi Arabia was one. Stock piling in sufficient volume for national security would not in fact promote true national security, it delared. Locking up proven reserves by suppressing existing production or by acquiring proven oil fields through purchase or condemination would be "harmful to the hope of a continued, vigorous domestic industry." It concluded:

(1) The public interest in oil can best be served by a vigorous competitive industry, guided by private initiative.
(2) Our oil fiture cannot be charted in advance; our best procedure is to maintain a vigorous, dynamic oil industry competent to meet the problems as they arise and able to create new approaches through dynamic action. (3) The Domestic Oil Industry needs no further Federal administrative machinery. (4) The operation of United States nationals in foreign fields needs diplomatic support and machinery for international consultation.
(5) The government of the United States should develop deliberately and only after mature study, an oil policy, both domestic and foreign, based upon experience, knowledge, and insight. 74

On August 8, 1944, the Anglo-American Oil Agreement "to assure the orderly development of petroleum resources for international trade and to provide the basis for a multilateral worldwide oil accord in the post war era" was signed by representatives of the United States and United Kingdom. The PRC controversy was set aside for what developed into a new controversy over this agreement which was never ratified by the US Senate.

⁷³Ibid., p. 397.

⁷⁴ lbid., p. 401.

⁷⁵U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Report on Anglo-American Oil Agreement, 79th Cong., 1st sess., July 1, 1947 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947).

About this time the oil shortage scare, having been used by Ickes and the JCS to promote stock purchase of American private oil in Saudi Arabia through the Petroleum Reserves Corporation, faded into oblivion. The continued success of the government-oil industry team in meeting essential oil requirements contributed to the death of the PRC but not without the assistance of Congress and the oil industry. 76

It remained for Senator E. H. Moore of Oklahoma, who first attacked the governments PRC Arabian pipeline project as a bad deal and who was Ickes archenemy, to be the first to publicly pronounce its imminent demise. Calling it a "dead duck" he said: "There probably will be permitted a cooling off period purely as a face-saving gesture before any announcement is made that the Arabian deal got too hot."

Both the Anglo-American Oil Agreement and the PRC proved to be "dead ducks." A little known and remembered attempt of the United States Government to buy out private enterprise operating in the distant oil fields of Saudi Arabia had failed.

Needed oil was not "pulled out of a hat" by special projects. It came from the reserves built up over the interwar years by the oil industry. More than three-quarters of proven oil reserves in the United States are estimated to have been discovered and developed before Pearl Harbor and by the addition to domestic reserves made by the industry while the war was

⁷⁶The oir lobby was causing extreme pressure on Ickes from certain members of the House and Senate while he was negotiating the PRC projects. See U.S. Senate, <u>Hearing Saudi Arabia</u>, pp. 25,241-242. Also the Petroleum Industry War Council condemned the PRC project. See page 30.

⁷⁷ Wall Street Journal, May 16, 1954.

going on. It also came from supplementary foreign oil supplies chiefly from Venezuela and the Middle East, the bulk of these reserves also having been discovered before we entered the war.

Ickes did a remarkable job as the Petroleum Administrator for War, but went too far with the PRC project. Although he believed he basically had the interests of the nation at heart in pushing the PRC, he was not concerned about damaging foreign relations or government competing with private industry.

Once the matter was made public, he had no backing from the White House. It seems that the oil industry had a greater lobby in Congress than Ickes or the Executive Department. Defeated, Ickes brushed off the entire matter as unimportant and began to postulate, with the industry's assistance, a new oil policy that considered both the foreign and the domestic aspects. This policy, flew in the face of the principles upon which the PRC was established.

The U.S. government had satisfied the King of Saudi Arabia with lend-lease. The oil companies retained their concessions and the British were stopped short of engulfing private American holdings into its sterling area in Saudi Arabia through negotiation. The oil scare proved to be unfounded once Congress investigated.

The conclusions drawn from the PRC incident showed the need for a clearly established national oil policy which determined the resource needs and sources during war or peacetime. If, as a result of a wartime contingency, it becomes necessary for the U.S. Government to own certain critical industries, it should be a part of an overall government-industry mobilization plan.

Later policies which came to fruition in the early fifties saw the role of Government functioning to promote conservation and encouraging

cevelopment, rather than entering into the business itself. These policies have proven effective since there was adequate petroleum to meet the needs of the Korean and Vietnamese conflicts without nationalization.

BIBLIOCRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Books

- Arabian American Oil Company. <u>Aramco Handbook Oil and the Middle East.</u> Dhahran, Saudi Arabia: N.N., 1968.
- Chamber of Cormerce of the US Natural Resources Department. Petroleum War Organization A Correct-Industry Team Its Organization and How it Works. Washington, D.C., October, 1943.
- Churchill, Winston S. The World Crisis. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923.
- Series No. 3. California: Stanford University Research Institute, 1944.
- Feis. Herbert. Seen From E. A.: Three International Episodes. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947.
- Hull, Cordell. The Memoirs of Cordell Hull. 2 Vols. New York: MacMillan Company, 1948.
- Ickes, Harold Le Claire. Fightin' Oil. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943.
- Philby, H. St. J. B. Arabian Oil Ventures. The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., 1964.

2. Public Documents

- Great Britain. Central Office of Information, Reference Division. Oil in the Middle East and North Africa. N.P.: The British Information Services, 1961.
- Great Britain. Foreign Office. Agreement on Petroleum Between the Government of the United Kingdom and Northern Troland and the Government of the United States of America. London: N.N., 1944. Cmd. 6555, 1944. United States No. 1, 1944.
- Great Britain. Foreign Office. Agreement on Petroleum Between the Government of the United Kingdom and Northern Treland and the Government of the United States of America. London: N.N., 1945. Cmd. 6683, 1945. United States No. 3, 1945.

- U.S. Congress. Senate. Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program. <u>Mearings of the Senate Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, Petroleum Arrangments with Saudi Arabia.</u>
 80th Cong., 1st sess., March 28, 28; May 8; October 29; November 1, 3, 4, 1947 and January 24, 29, 30, 1948. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948.
- U.S. Library of Congress. Middle Fast Oil in United States Foreign Policy. Legislative Reference Service Public Affairs Bulletin No. 89. By H. H. Hoskins. Washington, D.C., December 1950. (Mimeograph)
- National Petroleum Council. A National Oil Policy for the US. Washington, D.C.: Covernment Printing Office, 1948.
- U.S. Congress. House. Committee or Armed Services. <u>Petroleum for National</u>
 <u>Defense Hearings</u>. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948.
- U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Government Operations. Report on Audit of Reconstruction Finance Corporation and Affiliated Corporations

 Petrolege Reserves torporation, June 30, 1945. 80th Cong., 2d sess.,

 Vol. JX (April 22, 1948), Document No. 622, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Appropriations. Oil Supply for Military Purposes, 1944. 78th Cong., 2d sess., Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Forcign Relations. Report on Anglo-<u>American Oil Agreement</u>. 79th Cong., 1st sess., July 1, 1947, Washington, D.C.: Covernment Printing Office, 1947.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Special Committee Investigating Petroleum Resources.

 <u>Diplomatic Projection of American Petroleum Interests in Mesopotamia</u>

 <u>Netherlands East Indies and Nexico.</u> 79th Cong., 1st sess., Scnate

 <u>Document No. 43. Washington, D.C.: Covernment Printing Office, 1945.</u>
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program. Additional Report of the Subcommittee Concerning Investigations Overseas, Section 1 Petroleum Matters. 78th Cong., 2d sess., Report No. 10, Part 15. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944.
- U.S. Congressional Record. 80th Cong., 1st sess., Part 4, XCIV.
- U.S. Department of State. Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers, 1943. Vol. IV. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964.
- U.S. Department of State. Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers, 1944. Vol. V. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965.
- U.S. Department of State. Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers, 1945. Vol. VIII. Washington, B.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969.

- U.S. Department of State. <u>Poreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic</u>
 Papers, 1946. Vol VII. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office,
 1969.
- U.S. <u>Federal Registor</u>. Vol. VIII. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943.
- U.S. Petroleum Administration for War. A History of the Petroleum Administration for War, 1041-1945. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946.
- U.S. National Archives. "Preliminary Inventory of Records of Petroleum Administrator for War." Comp. James Fuckes and Albert Whimpy. Washington, D.C.: US National Archives Publishing Company, 1951. (Mimeographed)
- U.S. War Assets Administration. Government-Owned Pipe Lines, Report to the Congress, 18 December 1946. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946.

3. Periodicals

- Ickes, Harold L. "Oil and Peace," Collier's V (December 2, 1944) 55.
- Ickes, Harold L. "Persian Gulf Oil Furnishes Great Backlog for U.S. Reserves," The Oil Weekly, VI (Barch 6, 1944), 13-15.
- Ickes, Harold L. "We're Running Out of Oil," The American, II (January, 1944), 26-27.
- "Middle East Oil Development," Aramco, March, 1956, 6-11.
- Oil and Gas Journal, V (August 26, 1943), 21.
- "he Middle East," The Oil and Gas Journal, LVII, No. 5 (January, 1959), 28.
- Philby, H. St. J. B. "The New Reign in Saudi Arabia." <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, XXXII (April, 1954), 446-458.
- Wall Street Journal, October 21, 1943, May 16, 1944.

4. Newspapers

New York Times, July 2, 11, 15, 29, 1943, December 11, 1943.

5. Unpublished Works

- Council on Foreign Relations. "Can US Oil Reserves Meet Post War Demand?" New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1945. (Mimeographed)
- Council on Foreign Relations. "American Policy in the Middle East." New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1951. (Mimeographed)

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Books

- Brodie, Bernard. Foreign Oil and American Security. New Haven, 1947. (Mimeographed)
- Brooks, Benjamin T. <u>Peace</u>, <u>Plenty and Petroleum</u>. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Science Press Printing Company, 1944.
- Curtin, Thomas D. Men, Oil and War. Chicago: Petroleum Industry Committee, 1946.
- Fanning, Leonard M. American Oil Operations Abroad. New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1947.
- Fanning, Leonard M. Our Oil Resources. New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1950.
- Finnie, David A. The Middle East Oil Industry in its Local Environment, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Hamilton, Charles W. American and Oil in the Middle East. Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Company, 1962.
- Kirk, George. The Middle East in the War: Survey of International Affairs, 1939-1946. London: Oxford University Press, 1948.
- Lebkicher, Roy. Aramco and World Oil. New York: Rev. Ed., Russel F. Moore Company, Inc., 1952.
- Lebkicher, Roy, George Rentz, and Max Steineke. The Arabia of Ibn Saud. New York: Russel F. Moore, 1952.
- Lenczowski, George. Oil and State in the Middle East. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960.
- Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley. Oil in the Middle East: Its Discovery and Development. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Mezerik, A. G. Oil in the Middle Fast. International Review Service, United Nations. ..ew York, 1958.

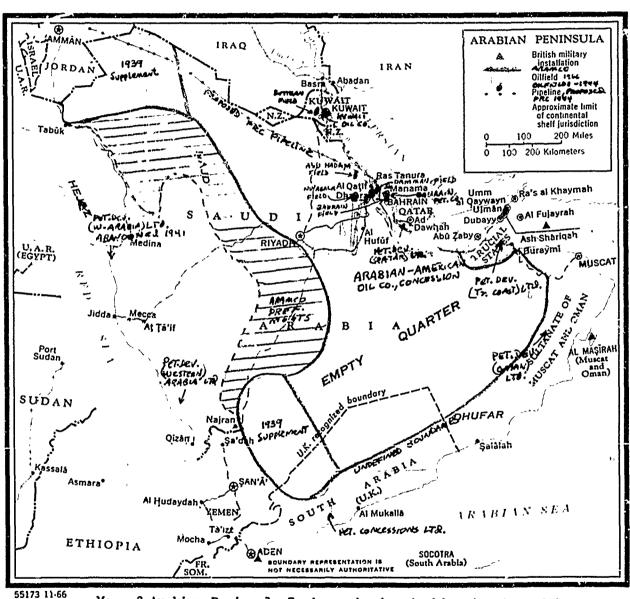
- Mezerik, A. G. <u>World Oil Economic Social Political</u>. International Review Service, United Nations. New York, 1959.
- Mikesell, Raymond Frech. Arabian Oil Americas Stake in the Middle East. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949.
- Nash, Gerald D. <u>US Oil Policy 1890-1964 Business and Government in 20th Century America</u>. Pittsburg, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.
- Odell, Pecer R. Oil and World Power: A Geographical Interpretation. Ed. Peter Hall. Pelican Geography Series. Baltimore, Maryland: Pelican, 1970.
- Ozanne, Henry. U.S. Foreign Oil Policy. Petroleum Industry Research Foundation, Inc. New York: Pirinc, 1945.
- Rostov, E. V. A National Policy of the Oil Industry. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948.
- Royal Institute of International Affairs. The Middle East, A Political and Economic Survey. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Sayegh, Kamal S. <u>Oil and Arab Regional Development</u>. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1968.
- Shwadran, Benjamin. The Midgle East, Oil and the Great Powers. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955.
- Stocking, George W. <u>Middle East Oil. A Study in Political and Foonomic</u>
 Controversy. Kingsport, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press,
 1970.

2. Periodicals

STATE OF THE PARTY OF

- Birdwood, C. B. "Oil in the Middle East," <u>World Affairs</u>, IV (January, 1950), 48-59.
- Himadeh, Said B. "Economic Factors Underlying Social Factors," The Middle East Journal, V (Summer, 1951), 269-283.
- Hoskins, Halford L. "Background of the British Position in Arabia," The Middle East Journal, I (April, 1947), 137-147.
- Kaissouni, A. M. "Oil in the Middle East," L'Egypte Contemporaine, XXXIX (May, 1949), 263-294.
- Sanger, Richard H. "Ibn Saud's Program for Saudi Arabia," The Middle East Journal, I (April, 1947), 180-190.

APPENDIX A



Map of Arabian Peninsula Region, showing Arabian American Oil Concession 1935-1945; principal oil fields by 1944; proposed PRG pipeline, 1944; and other petroleum development companies.

lBenjamin T. Brooks, Peace, Plenty and Petroleum (Pennsylvania: The Jaques Cattell Press, 1944), p. 104; see also, Middle East Oil Development (Arabian American Oil Company, n.p.,n.n., March 1956), p.9.

APPENDIX B

PETROLDUS RESTRATS CORPORATION

Commassia Charles

Reconstruction Phance Corporation hereby declares:

First. That per part to the authority contained in section 5d of the income struction Panacov Courses and Acres amonoled, it the request of the Sections of Commerce, was a troughnessed the President, there has been created and orposition in decities make of Pecioletan Receives Corporation theremafter is forced

Second (1954 the course of Pecceletan de cryes Corporation theremafter referred to a fine the course of the course of the principal office of the Corporation said, be in the City of Walds (1952) and purples of the Corporation shall be to 1956 office a resolute reserves of crace patrollar. If rom source conside the United States, tacked a chiefficial the prior of source considers of said reserve or interves thereby, and to store, trades of preduce, for an account, soil, fundate, in the observes of special patrollar and the product soil, fundate, in the characteristic said patrollar and the comporation said make the power and a there there are dependent on a first in the comporation said make the power and a there of the willows an account that said the product soil of the willows an account that so we have the power and a construction successful obtained as a comporate of the second obtained as the form to folop and use a comporate of the second obtained as a comporate of the second obtained of the second object of the second object of the second object of the second object. and decentries, to see and in the little to construct and operate musics the United state of the harras, papernias, some extants, and or or facilities is are accessing in a section with carrying out the objects and page, sees of the Nor-

pointion to knowle sured.

Therefore, the Comporation, the index its framenous, its capital, reserves, surplus, medical, and notes S in the exempt from not taxation new or herefore proceed by the Cinter Stays, or any accordance or possession thereof, it by now State, a large near the control of the Cinter of the control of the Stays, and the control of the State, country, notice, also property owners by the Cinter of the country to state, country, in discountry. or local taxation to the same extent according to its value as other real projective

That the Corporation study to a cristiangulality of the United States Government, scale be entropy to the transfer two of the United State mails, and I shad a fill other respects to two section of the prove estate manufactures can are a first upon to a Lecons received Losse Corporation under the Reconstruction Lines of Corporation on Act, as macrosci.

so A. If at the total retinate excepted stock of the Corporation shall be encommon documents (SI 060,000)—such stock seads to of one class, shall have a par-value of a loop per same, and shall be a spain or cash only.

Note of recording from South Correction of the Gall Gray.

Secondary Plant Lie Correction of the Act of Congress.

English—That the Stockhooler and not be hable for the debts, contracts, or engagement of the Corporation except to the extent of impands to Considering this. North. That the arrans and business of the Corporation shall be many as a board of directors who shall be appended by Reconstruction Phantice Correction parsons to the Corporation of the Corporation Phantice Correction.

That this Charter and the Bylaws may be amended at any time by Reconstruction Phantice Corporation. Reconstruction Plantice Corporation,

In war was a seed, Reconstruction Figure Corporation has caused this Courter to be a conserved officer, Vice Chairman of its Board of Directors, after 19, 19, 1 Secretary, and has caused its seal to be hereunto athread this ofth day of June 1913.

SEALS

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Attest.

By H. A. MULLIGAN, Vice Chairman. A. J. Honson, Secretary.

¹Comptroller General of the United States, Report on the Audit of Reconstruction Finance Corporation...for Fiscal Year 1945, '80th Congress, 2nd Sess., (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 15.

PLIEDLLUM RESERVES COLPORATION

AMENDMENT TO CHARGER

Results with the start a vestel in me by I vecative Order No. 9361, of July 18, 2010 S. I. B. as the No. 308 Severth, Ninth, and Tenth of the Charter of Letter 18 Results of Companion (S.F. R. 901); are hereby amounted to read as follows:

The stage Constraints of all have existence until displayed by the state of Foundale Warfare (established by Luciutive Order No. 1775; 17 150; or by Act of Constraints and by Luciutive Order No. 1775; 1775; or by Act of Constraints and by Luciutive Order No. 1775; or by Act of Constraints and by Luciutive Order No. 1775; or by the shall be appealed by the Director of the Order of

The Charles as being a live vitoe by the Proct of of the and the Band

The war is a Second the Director of the Od is of Lookondo Vender, has could be accorded to the conduct that the day of Albert 1983.

Lio T. Chowity, Director, Office of Lourende Warfare

Control button of word to American American Oil Companys (few really stable of Arabian Standard Oil Con).

Primary of Lander Compaction, Washington, D. C., September 4, 1948

(· · ·

The street Section Off Company, the South Ardde of the Company of the South Ardde of the Company of the South Ardde of the Company of the South Ardde of the South Ardde of Ardde of Ardde of the South Ardde of A

14.		-20,700 labs. per day
		25,700 bb's, for day
		12 (tallas jarda)
Same	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	24,269 bb jer day

The first open probabilities whell that ideals but be not limited to the work of design to the second open the confined of the 20 miles of August and is con-

The second of the 20 is day of August and is constituted by the constitution of the 20 is day of August and is constituted by the constitution of the constitution of the information respected in our letter of a constitution of the constitution of

(b) Proc. 5. Progress Corporation agrees to reindured your company for all course and for payments in connection with commitments made pursuant

to this authorization subject to verification I designated by it. All vouchers for reimburs accompanied by such records, receipt, and participation. The time and method for such it Comerction. at an early date.

Corporation. The time and method for such a stan early date.

(6) You have advised the Petroleum Admir do project to the navinary do are, your coor make consults out for the expluditure of a during the Course of the rest four month. War, having advised the Petroleum to the comment would be proper in the closure of the comment to the expension of the rest like court impursuant to this norther than the land to the first like court in pursuant to this norther the land to the land to the first land to the first like of the property of the particle of its standard or the property of the nation to your company for its cry relative, or the nation to your company for its cry relative, or the nation of the standard of the first land all places, at the same treatment which is relative if to Periodeum Receive Corporation of the rest a value to be lived by the nate of the receiver of the property of the content of the nation of the nation of the relative Receives Corpor distinguished to the national relation in the nation of the national relation by the national relation by the national relation is a first day of the national relation to the national relational relationship is not to the national relational relationship is not to the national relationship is not to the national relationship is not to the national relationship.

Reserves Corporation.

Sheerely yours,

(Signed) Hano

Copy of letter termine that letter of ir

Was

Carronnia At Maan Standard Ob. Compan Skorker Bulling, Walterfon, D. C.

(Attertion: Mr. P. A. Davies, Presider GENTLEMEN. Lifertive Nove. For 4 the Pe cels the authorization contained in its comm terminates further responsibility or liability acts to en in pursuance thereof. Forthwith y standing orders placed in prasmarce of specific is and by this company.

On November 1 you submitted to this corp construction and operation of a reflerry and structors that convinced the Board of Directe poration that no reasonal lelias. for an agreen tions has been presented or intended.

Very truly yours,

Periot. By Hanoth

Comptroller General of Report on the Audit of Recons oration...for Fiscal Year 194 Sess., (Washington: Government pp.16-17.

3

17

RIC-PETROLEUM RESERVES COLFORATION

TROLLUM RESERVES CORPORATION

AMENDMENT TO CHARLER

withorby, vested in me by Executive Order No. 9361, of July \$34, A cas Seventh, Ninth, at I Teath of the Charter of Corp., Son (8 P. R. 904); are barely amended to read as

he Corporation Stall have existence until dissolved by the fee of Leonou le Worfate festablished by Executive Order No. 143, or by Act of Courtees.

73, or by Act of Columbia. (a), is and basic os of the Corporation shall be run a od by ors who shall be appear to boy the Director of the Office of

Charter pay be mossly lattery that by the Proct a of the Werter, and that the bylonical bear on believed a Boar in the Court of the Board

of, the Director of the Odrovia Lookonnic Wanforch is caused be issued and adopted this Odrday of Arms (1943)

LIO T. Chowity, Inrector, Office of Eros orde Warfare

rof is tent to Air den An Frenn Oil Companya (for Arabian Standard Oil Co.).

Ph. .. at an La views Composition, Washington, D. C., September 4, 1973

AN SERVICE OF COMEANY.

Why have the for the expensive for Sort Archivat the tell force is a content of the sort, and the Sort Archivat the tell force is a content of the expensive of the expen

	0	
ii.c		
	12 () Has,	or day
(ne)	24 200 14.	

utherization shall had ade but by not littled to the work of deig at 1 the professor functional discovers and a signature for the city to the as of the 20 h day of August and is con-

rich with rish this Corporation as quickly as possible a detailed proposal for and containing the information reque tod in our letter of

es and compilir and made by you here inder shall be subject wal of this Corporation or such a concy as it shall design to, and trace for your will funtly other arrangements are a total design to the form that of the first contracts, and you will allow to held this Corporation of the held this corporation of the held this corporation of the held this corporation. ker place or the tip and in control on with any of the work

tend that there is no recal for flat are determined in all qualities in an experimental the project will be fit are decided in which the little wall be owned. When the extrangements are completed. will be revised to conform there to,

legries. Corporation agrees to reimbursely our company for all for your ents in connection with commitments made pursuant

to this authorization subject to verification by this Corporation or an arrivey to this action to a subject to vermeation by this Corporation of an appear designated by it. All vonchers for reinhur ement submitted by you shall be accompanied by such records, receipts and pay rolls as may be required by this Corporation. The time and method for such reimbursement will be exceed upon the data.

at an early date.

(c) You have advised the Petroleum Admen tration for War that, to expedite

the trained date.

(i) You have advised the Petroleum Administration for War that, to expedite the trained to the maximus decree, your company will be required to expend or make committeed for the expenditure of approximately thirty million delians of make committeed for the expenditure of approximately thirty million delians of matthe come of the rest for month. The Petroleum Admir between for War, having advised the Cope ration that come alments or expenditure which amount would be proper in the case matters of its under tood that the making amount to be expended for all the earth or acts for expenditure of including the make part at to this north lead in his materials of this letter of minimized parts at to this north lead in his notion of the intentions of a document of the standard expenditures for the north of your company to refer to the expenditures for the left of your company to refer to the formal committee of this multicipation followed by reliable rest to your cope, by for the expenditure, or the making of pays out or of replays the north of your cope, by for the expension of this multicipation followed by reliable required and all place, at the expense, properly which is not on the Petroleum Reserve Copporation and verificial or the Petroleum Reserve Copporation and verificial or the rest of the month of the paid for by your control of Petroleum Reserves Copporation. Reserves Corporation Si: cerely yours,

PETROLEUM RESERVES COLPONITION,

(Signed) HAROLD L. ICKES, Pre Ment

Copy of letter terminature letter of intent dated September 171913:

Principle Risinves Contony, 18, Washington, D. C., New Ser 4 28/3.

Secret

Gaereornia Avalian S. andaer Oil Company, Storcker Bulling, Woodengton, D. C.

(Attention, Mr. P. A. Davies, President.)

GIVITIMEN. Lifestive Nove, bord the Petroleum Reserves Corporation coses the authorization contains I in its communication dated September 4 and terminates further responsibility or liability with respect thereto, including all acts to an inpursuance thereof. Forthwith you will terminate and cancel a lourstanding orders placed in parsuarce of specific letters of approval of expenditures is sed by the Company.

On November I you submitted to this conjuration a projected contract for the construction and operation of a refer by and its facilities. A study of this instrument has convinced the B and of Directors of the Petrokum, it is resistent that no reasonal helps, for an agreement between our respective corporation. tions has been presented or interded.

Very truly yours,

Perholeum Research Conforation,

By Hanoth L. Ickes, Presid at.

Comptroller General of the United States, Report on the Audit of Reconstruction Finance Corporation...for Fiscal Year 1945,88th Congress, 2nd Sess., (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp.16-17.